Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

12
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /073 W
---------- 081603
R 060923Z OCT 76
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9103
INFO AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 THE HAGUE 5507

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: BBAK, PFOR, NL, US
SUBJ: LOCKHEED AND THE PRINCE: THE AFTERMATH

1. SUMMARY: NOW THAT THE IMMEDIATE FUROR ABOUT THE DONNER COMMISSION REPORT HAS SUBSIDED, IT SEEMS OPPORTUNE TO REVIEW THE WAY THE AFFAIR HAS AFFECTED THE THREE PRINCIPAL DRAMATIS PERSONAE: THE QUEEN, THE PRINCE, AND THE PRIME MINISTER.
END SUMMARY
A. THE QUEEN

2. THE LOCKHEED AFFAIR BROUGHT OUT THE DEEP AND ABIDING AFFECTION IN WHICH THE QUEEN IS HELD BY THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE DUTCH PEOPLE. THE OBVIOUS EMBARRASSMENT TO HER OF THE CHARGES AGAINST THE PRINCE AND THE VISIBLE DISCOMFORT WHICH THE AFFAIR CAUSED HER TO HAVE, IF ANYTHING, ADDED STRENGTH TO THE LOYALTY OF HER SUBJECTS. THE IMPRESSION--GENERATED BY THE PRESS REPORTS AND RUMORS--THAT THE QUEEN SET LOYALTY TO HER HUSBAND OVER HER DUTIES AS MONARCH APPARENTLY RECEIVED WIDE AND INSTINCTIVE UNDERSTANDING. THE FACT THAT THE QUEEN IN THE END AGREED TO STAY ON ALSO HAS MET WIDESPREAD APPROVAL OF A NATION WHICH HAS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

HEAVED AN ALMOST AUDIBLE SIGN OF RELIEF.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

3. EARLIER THIS YEAR, THERE WERE INDICATIONS THAT THE QUEEN WAS DEEPLY UPSET, LEADING TO SPECULATION THAT, UNLESS THE AFFAIR COULD BE SETTLED ON HER TERMS, SHE WOULD RESIGN. SHE WAS RUMORED TO BE DEEPLY UNHAPPY AND HIGHLY EMOTIONAL ABOUT THE UNFORTUNATE TURN OF EVENTS AFFECTING HER HUSBAND. NEVERTHELESS, AS TIME PASSED, SHE SEEMS TO HAVE REGAINED HER COMPOSURE, AND PERSONS WHO HAVE RECENTLY BEEN IN CONTACT WITH HER REPORT HER TO BE IN A VERY POSITIVE--ALMOST GAY--FRAME OF MIND, AS IF A LOAD OF UNCERTAINTY HAS BEEN LIFTED FROM HER SHOULDERS.

4. IN POLITICAL CIRCLES IN THE HAGUE, THERE IS STILL A WIDE-SPREAD EXPECTATION THAT THE LOCKHEED AFFAIR WILL HAVE SHORTENED THE QUEEN'S REIGN. INDEED, AMONG KNOWLEDGABLE OBSERVERS, IT IS EXPECTED THAT SHE MAY RESIGN WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR. THE QUEEN HERSELF, HOWEVER, HAS GIVEN NO SUCH INDICATION AND IS CARRYING ON AS USUAL.

5. NEVERTHELESS, THE LOCKHEED AFFAIR CONTINUES TO HAVE AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON HER ABILITY TO FUNCTION AS MONARCH. THE CABINET, WHICH GOT A LIVELY TASTE OF ITS CONSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ROYAL BEHAVIOR, WILL BE MONITORING ROYAL ACTIVITIES--AND ROYAL TRAVEL ABROAD--MORE CLOSELY. THE QUEEN HAS ALREADY BEEN FORCED TO DECIDE NOT TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES THIS YEAR, PARTLY, IT IS SAID, BECAUSE FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER STOEL ADVISED AGAINST THE VISIT, SINCE IT WOULD IN ALL LIKELKHOOD HAVE GIVEN RISE TO UNFAVORABLE PRESS STORIES ABOUT THE PRINCE. SIMILAR CONSIDERATIONS MAY ALSO PUT A BRAKE ON OTHER POSSIBLE TRIPS ABROAD.

6. THE QUEEN, IN SUM, CONTINUES TO FUNCTION AS USUAL, ENJOYING UNDIMINISHED POPULAR SUPPORT. IT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT SHE IS NOW IN THE CLOSING STAGE OF HER REIGN.

B. THE PRINCE

7. THE PRINCE IS NOW A RATHER SORRY FIGURE.

8. THE DONNER REPORT CONFIRMED WHAT MANY HAD SUSPECTED.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

NEVERTHELESS, TO SEE IN BLACK AND WHITE THE CONCLUSION THAT THE PRINCE HAD ENGAGED IN CONDUCT DETRIMENTAL TO THE COUNTRY'S INTEREST, NOT TO MENTION HIS INDISCREET CORRESPONDENCE, WAS A TREMENDOUS SHOCK TO MANY DUTCH. FURTHERMORE, THE COMMISSION'S CONCLUSIONS, SERIOUS AS THEY WERE, ONLY DEALT WITH THE ALLE-GATIONS ARISING DIRECTLY FROM LOCKHEED'S BRIBERY ATTEMPTS. IT DID NOT GO INTO--AND THIS WAS OUTSIDE OF THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE--OTHER POSSIBLE AREAS INVOLVING THE PRINCE'S CONDUCT

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

ABOUT WHICH THERE HAD EARLIER BEEN CONSIDERABLE PRESS SPECULATION. THESE INVOLVED EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIPS AND OTHER CONDUCT WHICH MOST DUTCH COULD NOT MATCH WITH STANDARDS EXPECTED OF THE PRINCE CONSORT.

9. THE PRINCE, OF COURSE, MADE A PUBLIC APOLOGY AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HIS BEHAVIOR HAD BEEN INJUDICIOUS. HE ALSO RESIGNED HIS MILITARY COMMISSIONS AND MANY OF HIS OTHER POSTS, INCLUDING THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE BILDERBERG CONFERENCE, PERHAPS HIS MOST SUCCESSFUL CREATION,. NEVERTHELESS, THE PICTURE THAT EMERGES AT PRESENT IS OF A MAN WHO FEELS THAT HE REALLY DID NOTHING WRONG BUT WHO ENDED UP IN AN UNFAVORABLE LIGHT BECAUSE OF CIRCUMSTANCES OVER WHICH HE HAD LITTLE CONTROL. WE HAVE HEARD SOME COMMENTS THAT THE PRINCE CONTINUES TO LIVE IN A NEVER-NEVER LAND OF PRINCELY PREROGATIVES AND IMAGINED GOOD INTENTIONS.

10. NOT THE LEAST OF THE PRINCE'S DIFFICULTIES STEM FROM THE FACT THAT THE GROUP FROM WHICH HE DREW HIS PERSONAL FREINDS AND CONTACTS, AND WHICH CONSTITUTED HIS GREATEST SOURCE OF SUPPORT, NOW CONTAINGS IN ITS RANKS SOME OF HIS MOST SEVERE CRITICS. IN PARTICULAR, MILITARY OFFICERS WHO HAD BELIEVED IN THE PRINCE'S INNOCENCE ALMOST AS A MATTER OF FAITH HAVE FELT BETRAYED BY THE DONNER COMMISSION CONCLUSIONS. MANY OF THE PRINCE'S FORMER DURCH ASSOCIATES SEEM NOT TO KNOW EXACTLY HOW TO HANDLE THE NEW SITUATION. SOME NOW SHY AWAY FROM CONTACT WITH THE PRINCE. WHAT EMERGES IS A PICTURE OF A MAN WHO FEELS NOT ONLY THAT HE HAS BEEN WRONGED BUT ALSO THAT THE HAS BEEN DESERTED BY HIS FRIENDS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 THE HA 05507 02 OF 02 061052Z

12
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /073 W
---------- 081689
R 060923Z OCT 76
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9104

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

INFO AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 THE HAGUE 5507

11. OUTWARDLY, THE PRINCE SEEMS TO BE PUTTING ON A GOOD FACE. HE ATTENDED THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES WITHOUT DECORATIONS, WEARING ONLY THE WHITE CARNATION WHICH IS HIS TRADEMARK. HIS APPEARANCE DREW APPLAUSE FROM A MODERATELY SIZED CROWD. HE HAS ALSO MADE ONE OR TWO OTHER PUBLIC APPEARANCES IN SUCH NON-CONTROVERSIAL EVENTS AS COMMEMORATION OF RESISTANCE FIGHTERS. CLEARLY, HOWEVER, THERE IS LITTLE FUTURE FOR PRINCE BERNHARD IN PUBLIC LIFE IN THE NETHERLANDS OR ABROAD. IT LOOKS AS IF THE ONLY PLSSIBLE RELIEF FROM HIS CURRENTLY EMBARRASSING POSITION WOULD BE FOR THE QUEEN TO RETIRE--HERSELF AND HIM--INTO PRIVATE LIFE.

C. THE PRIME MINISTER

12. THE LOCKHEED AFFAIR WAS A MAJOR TEST FOR THE PRIME MINISTER DEN UYL AND HE MET IT BRILLIANTLY.

13. IN ITS COMPLEXITIES--WITH THE DOCTRINAL SOCIALIST RESERVE ABOUT THE INSPITUTION OF THE MONARCHY AS A BACKDROP--
THE LOCKHEED CASE DEMANDED THE UTMOST IN THE SKILL OF THE PRIME MINISTER TO AVOID A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS. FOR DEN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 THE HA 05507 02 OF 02 061052Z

UYL'S SOCIALIST PARTY THERE WAS A DANGER THAT PERCEIVED UNFAIR TREATMENT OF THE MONARCHY WOULD BADLY HURT IT AT THE POLLS IN THE NEXT ELLECTION, AND AFTERWARDS. IN A COUNTRY ALREADY BESET BY SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND WITH DEEP CONCERN BOTH ABOUT INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT, THE STIGMA OF A CABINET CRISIS WOULD INEVITABLY HAVE ATTACHED TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

14. DEN UYL, HOWEVER, HANDLED THE MATTER DEFTLY AND WITH CONSUMMATE SKILL. THE APPOINTMENT OF THE DONNER COMMISSION TRANSFERRED COMPETENCE FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF THE FACTS AND FOR THE CONCLUSIONS OUTSIDE HIS CABINET. BY PICKING AS MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION THREE PERSONS OF UNDOUBTED JUDGMENT AND INTEGRITY, DEN UYL SET THE STAGE FOR HIS CABINET TO ASSOCIATE ITSELF WITH THE COMMISSION'S CONCLUSIONS, WHICH IS WHAT HAPPENED. ALSO, FROM THE BEGINNING, DEN UYL HANDLED THE MATTER ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT EVENTUALLY THE ENTIRE INVESTIGATION WOULD HAVE TO BECOME PUBLIC PROPERTY. WHEN, THEREFORE, THE COMMISSION HANDED ITS REPORT TO THE PRIME MINISTER, HE LOST LITTLE TIME IN PRESENTING IT TO THE PARLIAMENT AND TO THE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

PUBLIC, THEREBY IN EFFECT SHARING THE PROBLEM AS WELL AS HIS SOLUTION.

15. IN DOING SO DEN UYL ALSO STRUCK WHAT AMOUNTED TO A BARGAIN WITH THE QUEEN. WHILE THE DETAILS REMAIN SHROUDED, THE ELEMENTS OF THE BARGAIN ARE CLEAR: THERE WOULD BE NO CRIMINAL PROSECUTION OF THE PRINCE AND IN RETURN THE QUEEN WOULD AGREE TO STAY--AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING. WE DO NOT KNOW JUST HOW HARD THE PRIME MINISTER LEANED ON THE QUEEN TO ACHIEVE THIS COMPROMISE. NOR IS IT CLEAR WHAT WOULD HAVE EVENTUATED HAD THE QUEEN DECIDED TO LEAVE. BUT AMONG KNOWLEDGEABLE DUTCH OBSERVERS THERE IS A WIDESPREAD FEELING THAT HAD IT BEEN ANYONE OTHER THAN THE PRINCE, CRIMINAL PROSECUTION WOULD BECESSARILY HAVE FOLLOWED.

16. IN HANDLING THE CASE AS HE DID AND IN AVOIDING BOTH THE REALITY AND THE APPEARANCE OF UNFAIRNESS TOWARDS THE MONARCHY, DEN UYL HAS BEEN WIDELY RECOGNIZED AS A MASTERFUL TACTICIAN. IT IS STRIKING TO HEAR COMPLIMENTS TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S SKILL IN HANDLING THIS ISSUE VOLUNTEERED BY THOSE WHO NORMALLY DO NOT HESITATE TO CRITICIZE HIM BITTERLY. WHEN THE AFFAIR WAS IN ITS EARLY STAGES, ONE OF THE NETHERLANDS'
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 THE HA 05507 02 OF 02 061052Z

MOST RESPECTED POLITICAL COMMENTATORS OBSERVED THAT DEN UYL'S PREDILECTION FOR PARTISAN POLITICS MIGHT FOR ONCE NOT BE ENOUGH FOR THIS ISSUE, WHICH CUT ACROSS THE FEELINGS OF THE ENTIRE NATION. AS IT WAS, DEN IUL HANDLED THE MATTER TO THE SATISFACTION OF ALL AND RENDERED A SERVICE TO HIS COUNTRY WHICH IS UNLIKELY TO BE SOON FORGOTTEN. IF THERE WAS A WINNER IN THE LOCKHEED AFFAIR IN THE NETHERLANDS, IT WAS PRIME MINISTER DEN UYL.
MCCLOSKEY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CORRUPTION, INFORMATION CONTROL
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 OCT 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976THEHA05507
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760376-1099
From: THE HAGUE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761075/aaaacmzo.tel
Line Count: 260
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02 APR 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <05 APR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: LOCKHEED AND THE PRINCE: THE AFTERMATH
TAGS: BBAK, PFOR, NL, US, LOCKHEED, (JULIANA), (BERNHARD), (UYL, JOHANNES DEN),
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006